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"UPSTAIRS AND DOWN"—In Step With Child Study

DOROTHY A. MILLICHAMP

CHILDREN AND THEIR CONTEMPORARIES—What Has Been Learned
From Sociometric Studies

MARY L. NORTHWAY and LINDSAY WELD

BOOK REVIEWS

UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO

EDITORIAL COMMENT

When you have read "Upstairs and Down," I am sure that you will want to say with me, "Thank you, Miss Millichamp, for sharing your insight with us." Everyone working with young children today is looking for some search-light of meaning to illustrate the winding path of the individual's development from infancy to maturity. Miss Millichamp has dramatized the happy blending of research and practical application which is providing this needed search-light of meaning. Of course, this is not a final answer, but it is the kind of insight that makes sense of some of the things we do with children.

The companion article by Dr. Northway and Miss Weld interprets the practical significance of some studies in Sociometry, a field in which Dr. Northway has been a pioneer and constant contributor for some years. We are fortunate that Dr. Northway is one of those rare persons who can both conduct scholarly research and make the findings meaningful for practical life situations. Research findings are not "just common sense", but there is no reason why such results cannot be made both sensible and usable. This is what this article does for us.

KARL S. BERNHARDT

"*Upstairs and Down*"

In Step With Child Study

DOROTHY A. MILLICHAMP*

AT our Institute, we often speak of ourselves as the "upstairs" and "downstairs" staffs. The upstairs people think and do research; those downstairs also think—but they look after children. When the upstairs staff venture downstairs they are sometimes considered a bit of a nuisance, cluttering up the hall just when the children are being called for, and demanding that records be kept about the queerest things. From upstairs, the downstairs folk are sometimes viewed with wonder, because they know things about children that have not as yet appeared in any psychological textbook. But there is a stairway, and we believe that our real knowledge of children grows as we travel up and down. Practical knowledge comes up from the real experience of people who work with children, and theoretical thoughts go down to be tested and verified through their applicability to daily school living.

Such running up and down the stairways, by which I mean the interchange of the realistic and theoretical information about children, seems to me to have been the essence of child study and nursery education in America. The one has contributed to the other, and the intermingling of what is known about the child and what is done with him has meant that child study and nursery education have never remained static, but have each grown, as thought has impinged on practice, and as practice has encountered new ideas to be thought about. Actually nursery education as we know it originated from child study, and nursery school teachers have remained true to this tradition. They have also remained on guard, ready to question theory which proves to be untenable for child well-being.

Since they first started, nursery education and child study have been involved in a mutual search. Very early child study pointed out that the

strengths of a child's person, or personality, begin to develop early, and that his future mental health depends on the acquisition of these first strengths. What are these primary strengths? To discover these is the task of child study. Through what kinds of experience does the child develop these? This is the quest of nursery education. Both are problems of mental health. Child study is responsible for solving our mental health queries, and nursery education for stabilizing at an early age the mental well-being of children. Thus within the educational stream, the nursery school is essentially a mental health institution. Of course the home stands first in initiating the job, but as the child moves beyond the home, his nursery school experience must so abet his beginning strengths that his mind is healthy and freed for the years of learning which are ahead.

What then are the primary strengths of mental health, and how can we foster these?

A Review of Ideas in Child Study

Let us look back over the years of this mutual search to see where it has led us, take our present compass bearings, and glance in the direction of our future route.

Nursery education began with the concept of *Development*. This was the core of its philosophy. We learned that temper tantrums and thumb-sucking are a part of the child's growing up, but that, as he develops, he will grow beyond these into new forms of activity. We learned that the three-year-old must pause to be a three-year-old; and as teachers we became accepting instead of reproving, and learned not to press the child before he was ready. With the help of Gesell, we learned to plan for ages and stages.

BUT: sometimes things did not work out as the theories had stated. So we ran upstairs with the question, "Why do some children come to a standstill and continue to be three-year-olds when they are really long past being three years old?"

The upstairs people explained the newest thoughts about *learning*. Dr. Blatz, in Canada, expanded this idea, and stated that in order to develop, a child must become an active learner. So, downstairs, teachers began to plan learning situations for the child. He was given two kinds of experience in learning; self-help in routines, and creativeness in play. We discarded ideas of punishment, and began to think of discipline as meaning a "plan of teaching." Corporal punishment disappeared, and the nursery school demonstrated that children can be guided without being made afraid.

BUT: again word was sent upstairs saying, "It does not always work. Some children do not learn. Some sit and wait to be dressed; some do

little except ride round and round on a kiddy-car. Learning can not be the fundamental first thing. There must be something deeper. What is it that gives a child his strength to learn?"

So the upstairs folk rushed in to tell us all they knew about *motivation*. The child must need in order to learn. So downstairs teachers planned his learning around his physiological and psychological needs. If we camped with Gesell, our banners flew for the self-demand plan to meet needs; if we marched with Blatz, we waved flags for routine to meet needs. On occasions when the armies met, there were skirmishes. In our first efforts, some children got so much routine that life must have seemed grim to them, others were so surfeited with their own demands that they became uncertain and confused.

However, most teachers knew all along that they did different things with different children, adapting their plan to the individual child's particular needs and then helping him to learn useful ways of meeting these.

BUT: the teachers asked, "Even when we do base our programme on the child's needs, there are children who do not act according to these. Johnny cannot sleep when he is sleepy; Joe cannot play when he is restless, and Peter cannot bring himself to sing when he is bursting with feeling. What strength is it within a child that gives him freedom to express his needs and wants, and to seek fulfilment? Why do some children hold back and refuse to gain satisfaction?"

This time the query reached a particular upstairs group—that of the clinicians. The psychiatrists and psychoanalysts sent down their answer. The answer was *emotion*. Confused children carry fears and angers which stand between them and their world. These, clinicians have found, can sometimes be released and corrected by such treatment as play therapy and a totally permissive environment.

Before upstairs thinking had time to reach scientific accuracy, "permissiveness" was lifted from its therapeutic context into the nursery school world, and teachers became alert to the presence of underlying negative emotions; indeed a teacher began to feel that she must be very inadequate if she could not find a hidden fear or hostility in every child.

From the clinicians we learned how important it is that children be permitted to express feelings; but teachers soon discovered that while a few children thrive on full permissive treatment, the majority are ready for our help and control in learning to deal with their fears and angers.

BUT: then teachers began to ask, "What about the enthusiastic, the gay, the delighted child whose positive feelings far outweigh the negative, who is full of the zest for living? If negative emotion interrupts effort and learning and development, then positive emotion must be the strength which sets these in motion. Tell us what brings such good feeling into

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being. What is the inner strength out of which happiness, affection, and enjoyment arise?"

New Thoughts are Emerging

The answer so far is only a cluster of whispers. It comes from upstairs staffs who have been studying babies—Bowlby in England, Erickson in America, David in France, and some of our own staff in Canada. The discovery has been that there are happy babies with a zest for life, and listless babies who leave life alone. There are also babies who have had zest, but have lost it, and babies who struggle against life. The difference, so the scientists say, is related to whether or not the baby has lived his infant life with parents. An institutionalized baby fails to develop as does a baby cared for by his mother or his foster mother. These, then, are the facts from upstairs, but as yet they do not answer the downstairs questioning. They only serve to raise a further question, "What is the strength established within a baby by a parent's care, and which is otherwise so difficult to bring about?"

Now child study and nursery education are looking in the direction of our future route. There are many answers, all tentative, but heading in the same direction. For your consideration I shall pass on to you my version of our own upstairs thinking.

Thoughts about Dependency and Trust

We have already said that a child, to develop fully, must have the strength of learning, supported by the strength of need, supported by the strength of good feelings. But whence comes this last strength? *It comes from the strength of human relationships.*

Let us have a look at babies. A baby is born helpless; he must be able to depend in a human way if he is to live among us. He is not born with this psychological sense; it grows. If it does not grow, the baby has nothing to reach out to, no feeling of support. If you have ever held a young bird in your hand and tried to warm and feed it, you will know that usually it struggles a little and dies; it can make no use of you; it is unable to depend on you. If a baby feels no dependency, we cannot help him, for dependency means the willingness and ability to accept help.

Dependence, it is suggested, is the essence of the first human relationship and the first and basic human strength. But a child must have sufficient strength to allow him not only to cling, but to move away. The strength which enables the child to move away we may call a sense of trust, an inner certainty about those on whom he depends; hence he feels our support not only in, but beyond our presence. Trust grows out of dependency, but is not identical with it.

We believe this relationship of trusting dependence to be the funda-

mental strength of human beings and the primary strength developed in the young child. We do not know just how it is attained, but it certainly comes from our proving and re-proving to the child that adults are dependable and trustworthy. Experiences that hold real human concern are the best grounds for its demonstration; and parents, who are the people most capable of this kind of care and love, are the most important people to prove it.

With this first inner certainty and the serene good feeling that accompanies it, the child is able to reach out, not only to his parents but to his rattle, his toes, and his world. He enjoys these, especially as he can always make a quick retreat to his adults. He begins to use himself, and gradually a sense of self and a dependence on self grows. In fact, at this point, he sometimes prefers to depend on self rather than on parents, and there may be clashes. This self-strength takes his efforts into continually new fields. His learning expands, and pleasures accumulate. Eventually, if his efforts prove to be satisfactory, he develops not only a self-dependency, but a self-trust. He comes to trust himself because he has found that he himself is trustworthy.

We believe that trusting dependence on others is a forerunner to self-trust, and remains prerequisite to self-trust throughout the whole of life. The individual must have trust in others if he is to have trust in himself, and develop as a mentally healthy human person in a human world.

Thinking in the Nursery School

Will these ideas from upstairs influence our practices in the nursery school? They will certainly not turn our procedures upside down; they may enable us to understand better what we do, and clarify some of the matters which have worried us. Let us consider some of the problems that have concerned nursery education, in the light of this dependency-trust idea.

We have worried about the *new child*. If a child has a trusting dependence in his family, and the beginnings of some self-trust, he can be away from his mother for a time. His inner certainty will assuage his fear. But he has not as yet enough self-trust to be left quite alone, so before his mother leaves him at the nursery, he needs time to expand his dependence to include his teacher. I deliberately say "expand," not "transfer," for one dependency does not replace another—it augments it. If the change is so sudden, that no relationship with his teacher develops, he will lose his certainty; but if mother is around too long, a new trust in teacher may not materialize.

Of course, the child's trust in his teacher will not be a duplicate of that which comes from his relationship with his parents. He will learn to expect different things from different people. He trusts them because

they are trustworthy, not because they are all alike; and because these relationships are different, the child will respond in a different way to his mother and his teacher.

The child who is not ready for nursery school is the one who is not trusting of his parents, and so is unable to let them out of his sight, even for a minute.

In nursery education we have worried about *permissiveness*. Our answer would be that a child must have enough real freedom to know that we trust him, for a part of his certainty grows out of our proof of confidence in him. But too much freedom would weaken his dependent relationship, ending in uncertainty.

We have wondered how much to stress *self-help*. Here, our answer would be: as much as the child's growing self-dependence is ready to take, but not so much that he cannot enjoy the comfortableness of being dependent.

We have often talked about the matter of *direction and control*. Healthy children seem to want it. If the child has trust in us, he will expect and enjoy the relationship which leading and following provide. Then too, we have wondered whether our group projects should be free, or given direction. Does this matter, provided that the child has both? Direction supports his depending; freedom supports his own self-worth.

We have wondered about the use of removal from the group as a discipline. Will the child feel rejected? Here, our answer would be that if his trust is well established he will carry it with him to the next room; however, we must be alert to those children who doubt us, and for whom removal is just another proof that they were right in their doubting.

We have often been concerned as to how much we should interfere in children's *play with each other*. We must look at this as a situation in which a child is trying out his self with other equally fragile selves. Over the years, these selves must come to trust each other mutually. Contemporaries finally take their place as our trusted ones; so our question is, "How best can we help these new and important relationships?" Perhaps the answer is that we must give enough supervision to see that doubt and fear and angry feelings do not creep in too early, yet not so much supervision that children fail to try to find relationships. Then, too, we must become aware of which relationships children are most comfortable in, and see that they get opportunity for rich association with children where mutual trust has already developed.

We have worried about children who defy us constantly, or who seem *overly independent* and go their own way. We need to worry about these children, because in our thinking it would mean that the child lacks the basic strength of having trust in others, and so is trying desperately to

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carry life on his own shoulders. Having no trust in others, he has no real self-trust and is facing the world in a spirit of bravado.

We have thought about the *overly dependent* child. He may not have enough certainty of our support to turn his back on us and try his own efforts; so he clings desperately to us. He must become trusting before he can move on, so we must not push him away, but support him rather as we would an infant, until he is ready.

We have worried with the clinician about the *withdrawn* child who will have nothing to do with us. He may be afraid even to depend. He has no strength, and so he dares not attempt learning. Here we may have to go back to helping him build infantile dependency before we can do anything else.

The overly independent, the overly dependent, and the withdrawn children are those who require our special planning. Each must be treated as an individual. We may require more permissiveness or more controls, more attention or perhaps less; at this point our goal would not be to foster learning strength, because we know the child must gain a sense of relationship before he feels the certainty which frees him to learn.

For most of the children who come to our nursery schools with their first potential strengths already under way, it seems to me that our present plans hold the essentials for their mental health. However, these plans must include all we have learned about children rather than one or other procedure. We prove our concern to the child by our care, control, and teaching, and we prove our confidence in him by our acceptance, expectancy, and permissiveness. It would seem that it is the dependability of this balanced experience with us which fosters the child's depending and independent trust, which makes for his development of wellness, and which fosters personality growth.

Of course, each child will be different, and therefore his particular balance of experience will be made up in a different way. At the end of nursery school, if our expectations are right, we would have the five-year-old filled with energy and satisfaction, trusting others, and beginning to trust himself and to bulge out in exuberance.

Wee Willie Winkie may have been right. He ran around the town, upstairs and down. In child study and nursery education, theory and practice have gone along hand-in-hand, and ideas that pass on the stairways have had to justify themselves in both the seminar and the playroom. Is trust-dependency the final idea we need to understand human personality and nursery procedures? Unlikely. Its best value is that it enables us to see old things with a new vision, and so gain a new perspective of the goal that is before us.

Children and Their Contemporaries

What Has Been Learned From Sociometric Studies*

MARY L. NORTHWAY and LINDSAY WELD

Upstairs and down, research and practical staffs have been working to understand children and to discover how personality grows from its embryonic stages. The idea of "dependency-trust," which Professor Millichamp describes in her article in this Bulletin, has grown out of much practical experience and many research studies. Among the research studies in which our own "upstairs staff" has been involved are those of the child's social living. Some of the inferences we have drawn from our sociometry investigations are given in this article, with an indication of their influence on our theoretical thinking.

MILLIONS of children and adults during the last twenty-five years have taken part in sociometric tests. In nurseries, schools, camps, hospitals, industrial settings, towns and rural communities, in the services, in American, European, and primitive cultures, individuals have been asked to state with whom they would like to associate in certain situations. Provided the situations considered have been appropriate and the individuals questioned neither infants nor idiots, there has been no difficulty in obtaining a reply. At the Institute, such tests are given regularly in the fall and spring to each group of children, and form an integral part of our longitudinal research (1).

From our own and sociometric studies generally, we have learned a few general facts about human beings.

Preferences are Universal

In any group that has been studied sociometrically, it is found that preferences exist. Every individual finds that there are certain individuals within the group whom he likes more than others. To him, these people have more appeal, more value than others. Preference is a fundamental fact of human life, and therefore it must be taken into account in our thinking about social organization and our plans for it. Fortunately, however, these preferences vary with each individual. Johnny does not prefer the same children as Nancy, nor Harry as David. Why a particular individual has great value for one child and relatively little for another,

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we do not know. It has something to do with the way they complement each other's personalities and foster each other's potentialities. We do know, however, that an individual is freer, more at ease, usually more expressive, and more likely to "be himself" when he is with the people whom he prefers (2). From this, we infer that the less secure the child, the more important it is for him to be with his friends. He tends to feel free and at ease with his friends; with others, he may feel insecure, and become awkward or shy. Children who are more secure can "be them-selves" when they are with their friends, and will *retain* a great deal of this easiness when they are with others whom they know and like less well (3).

Since preferences are the basis of social reality, we must accept them as facts; we cannot deny them. Some adults object to sociometric tests because "they make individuals aware of the fact that they like some people more than others," and such awareness is assumed to be an unde-sirable thing. Indeed, it is when we try to run away from or deny human reality that we get into most of our mental health difficulties. If prefer-ences are basic, then there is no reason why children should not be aware of this and realize that we adults are aware of it too. While we believe that, in the ideal society, everyone would like everyone else, we have too often interpreted this erroneously to mean that everyone should like everyone else *equally*. This is a human impossibility. From this false premise, we have deduced that if we do not like everyone equally, there is something wrong with us. Each of us knows inwardly that we do not like everyone equally and, because what we actually feel differs from what we believe we should feel, we develop a sense of inadequacy or feel-ing of guilt. If we are aware of the facts of social living, however, we realize that by having preferences we are just like everyone else, acting in a perfectly natural way; our guilty feelings can vanish, and we become comfortable, knowing we are very "human" human beings.

Accepting the fact of preferences, however, we must beware lest we become trapped by another delusion: that of believing that the people we prefer are inherently more virtuous, more noble, or more important than those we do not. It is quite true that we *see* people we like as exem-plifying more of the virtues than people we do not like (4). This may be due to the fact that, because we like the people we like, we give them a sort of halo and cloak them in shining raiment which is made more out of our feeling for them than out of their own real qualities; or we may see them as finer and more virtuous because, through our affection for them, we have had more opportunity to be with them in situations where these qualities might appear. The people we do not particularly like have probably had few opportunities to show us how generous, friendly, intel-

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ligent, and sympathetic they can be. We see people not as they are but, rather, as they are in relation to us. It is not because a person is fine and upstanding that we like him; it is, rather, because we like him that we see he has within him the qualities of "fineness" and "upstandingness."

Accepting the fact of preferences does not create an unpleasant, undesirable, or unjust social world; rather, it makes each of us more aware, appreciative, and understanding of the nuances of social living. Each individual has his own particular preferences and these differ from the preferences of others. Everyone prefers and is preferred by some, but no one is preferred by all.

These lines of preference form the networks that underlie society and enable a true democracy, full of interest and liveliness, to develop. It is almost impossible to imagine a society in which everyone liked everyone else equally, but it seems quite probable that it would be a very flat society indeed.

This fact of preferences has practical applications. If we are freer, more at ease, more expansive, and more "ourselves" with the people we prefer, then we should make certain we have many opportunities to be with them. Not only do we feel more relaxed with the people we prefer but we also, when we are with them, have the chance of seeing ourselves through their eyes and of discovering genialities and potentialities within ourselves. The more insecure we are, the more we need to be with those whom we really prefer. As adults, we should see that the insecure child has plenty of opportunity to work and to play with those whom he prefers; we know that their support will help assure him of his own worth. Each must learn to trust his intimates before he can be expected to have trust in humanity in general; a child who discovers the pleasure and assurance to be found amid the few will be ready to venture out among the many.

People Differ in Their Social Potential

A second thing we have learned from sociometric studies is that people differ in their social potential; that is, in all groups, sociometric scores range from very low to very high. With adults, sociometric status scores tend to remain constant; with children, there is considerable variation, but even at the nursery school level there is some tendency for a child to maintain his sociometric level.* As there are individual differences in intellectual capacity, so there seem to be individual differences in social capacity. This, then too, is a fact of social life which must be accepted.

*In our present studies, the correlations between test and re-test are all positive, becoming higher as the groups increase in age. Individuals show tremendous variation in their successive scores, however; this fact we are studying under the term "sociometric motility."

It does not carry with it the implication that those with a higher social potential are in any way "better" people than those with a lower. It does mean, however, that those with a higher potential play a different role in a group. Since our groups tend to differentiate into leaders and followers, directors and supporters, it is important to see that each group provides optimum opportunity for the development and expression of the different social potentials of the individuals composing it. No leader can exist without his supporters; no group exists solely by dint of its leaders; the existence of a group depends upon the capacities and the expression of the capacities of all those who make it up.

The most important thing is that a person finds his own social level satisfying. A child with an I.Q. of 100 is capable of feeling as happy and worthwhile as a child with an I.Q. of 160, unless he is made to feel he should be brighter than he is. Similarly, the child who has a low social potential can be just as satisfied and as satisfactory as the one who has a higher, provided he is not made to feel he should be more popular, or that he would be "better off" if he were. The desirability of popularity is a typically New World notion, and all too often we make children dissatisfied with their perfectly adequate social relationships by pressing them to become more distinguished and conspicuous socially. Actually, there is a wide range of "healthy" personalities, and a child who is enjoying his own relationships quietly and efficiently, accepting his relatively low position in the group, should feel just as adequate and as secure as the child with a higher social potential—indeed, perhaps even more so.

No One is Preferred by Everyone

Sociometric studies have shown us that no person is ever preferred by everyone else in the group (unless, of course, the group is *very* small). A child who receives the highest score in a group of twenty, for example, will likely be preferred by at most only seven or eight of the children. This introduces another fact of social life; that is, that there are a great many people who are sociometrically more or less indifferent to us. This does not mean that those who do not prefer a child do, in fact, dislike him. Rather, for the most part, they are relatively indifferent to him. The absence of preference most often means indifference, and it is wise to learn and accept this fact early in life; most of the people we meet in this world will *not* prefer us, and our efforts to make them do so are unrealistic and, therefore, futile. It is to the child's advantage to learn that there are many people who have no special preference for him, and that there is no need for him to try to ingratiate himself with the whole world.

Children have to learn how to deal with "sociometric indifference,"

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how to get along and work together with people whom they do not prefer and who do not prefer them. Nursery and elementary schools can help children learn to appreciate and to be fair and just to those whom they do not happen to like best, by providing them with the opportunities to work and play with children other than the ones they themselves have chosen, and to find thereby that such experiences may be pleasurable. Children should discover, at the same time, that many of the things they do will not be of great personal importance to everyone and that all the children will not care about them as their particular friends do.

### Nearly Everyone is Preferred by Somebody: Patterns Differ

Sociometric studies show us that nearly everyone is preferred by somebody; in a "healthy" society, there are very few children who are not chosen at all on a sociometric test. The ways in which children are liked by others, however, and the ways in which they themselves like others, differ. Some children choose a great many other children, spreading their choices rather thinly over the group; others concentrate on a few. Some choose children who are of higher sociometric status than they; others choose children close to their own level; still others choose those who are lower in status, often on the fringe of the group. The different ways in which individuals express their preferences and are preferred by others in the group make up what we call *sociometric patterns*. Pictograms are a means of presenting these patterns visually. Two series of these are given on page 13.

Through its revelation of the variety of existent social patterns, sociometry has broken down our concept of an "ideal" social pattern. There are as many patterns as there are people, and given the opportunity to explore and sample, children will be likely to find the particular social patterns that are "right" for them. Trying to mould children into one form is like trying to put them into suits of the same size: there are bound to be a great many misfits. Too, children's social patterns change from time to time, and as yet we do not know to what these changes are related. However, parents and teachers may well find assurance in the fact that children's social patterns are not fixed but rather are in the process of development. These changes suggest that children are experimenting in the area of social living, trying to discover the kinds of social persons they will be. We cannot say which patterns are best; we know there are some hazards in isolation, and others in continual leadership. In a free society, however, social living is made up of a variety of patterns, and it is important that children find those that are most satisfactory for *them*, rather than be forced to have all of one kind.

A component of a pattern which seems to have particular value is the
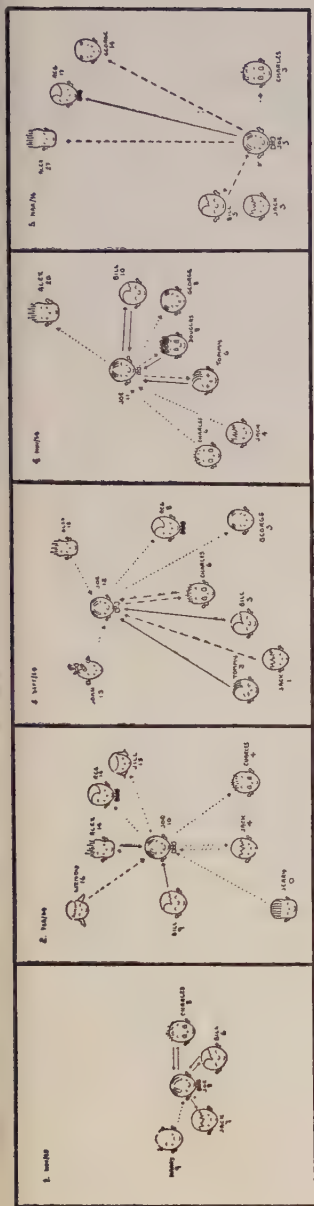
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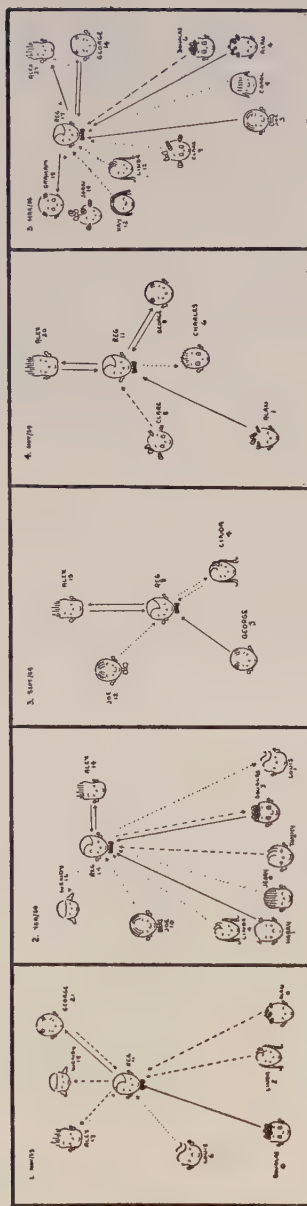
REG

PICTOGRAMS OF THE SOCIOMETRIC PATTERNS OF TWO CHILDREN, REG AND JOE, ON FIVE
SOCIOMETRIC TESTS

These present visually the sociometric patterns of Reg and Joe on five tests given in Kindergarten and Grade I. The placement of the "faces" in relation to the top and bottom of each pictogram indicates the relative sociometric position in terms of status of the children depicted. The arrows pointing at Reg and Joe indicate the choices they received; the arrows pointing away from them indicate the choices they gave. The pictograms of Reg and Joe were selected for presentation because at the time of the first test they were of comparable "average" sociometric status, but considerably different in their patterns; they were within two months of the same age, similar in I.Q., and considered by their teacher to be "well" children, free from any major difficulties. Consideration of the changes in pattern over such series of tests forms the basis of our present research.

reciprocal relationship: two children preferring one another. In such a relationship it seems probable that children discover a richness and a security in social living that is greater than in any other. We should encourage this. In reciprocal relationships, children give and take and find a richness that comes from mutual concern and acceptance. Where choices are reciprocated, the children concerned are usually at somewhat the same level of sociometric status. There is a realism about such choices; they can be observed in actual life situations. The unreciprocated choice, on the other hand, is often the expression of a child's *desire* for companionship that is not realized in actual life (6). Frequently it is given to someone very much higher in sociometric status, someone with whom the chooser may have very little contact.

In the old days, some teachers thought it wise to break up the too close, "clinging" friendships, by putting the friends into different groups. This would seem to be unwise. Friends tend to be friends because they need or want each other, and so they should have opportunity for the expression of their liking, in common activities. Indeed, if the relationship is a secure one, it is the children so related who will be most ready for participation with other children (2). The "best friend" phenomenon is familiar to all teachers. They know that children who are secure in this relationship are ready and willing to participate with others. If the children are not yet secure in themselves or in this relationship, then it is of the utmost importance that they have plenty of opportunity to *become* secure with one another, and not be forced into separate groups.

A Few Individuals are not Preferred by Anyone

Sociometric studies have shown that in most groups there are a few individuals who are not chosen by anyone. If there are a great many unchosen individuals in a particular group, then there is something very wrong with the setting and with the way in which the group is organized. Even in "good" groups, however, on a single test, one or two per cent of the total number of children will be found to receive no choices.* The children concerned should be considered closely, especially if their isolation continues to show up on successive occasions. It may be that they are unable to form relationships as a result of some defect or difficulty in their personality growth. While the lack of choice alone does not suggest the cause, it does indicate that the teacher might well observe iso-

*At the Institute, on a single test, approximately two per cent of the children in each group are not chosen. The results of our three-year study, however, indicate that no child remains unchosen throughout.

lated children carefully to see if she can discover why they are not chosen and how they may be helped. A teacher can do much by learning who these children choose, and perhaps arranging for them to serve as "crutches." Putting the isolated child with those he has expressed a desire to be with, especially if they are capable of including and supporting him, may produce amazingly good results. It is important not to put isolated children "on the spot" socially, not to expect them to perform or to do anything that makes them socially conspicuous. Quiet children need quiet opportunities for social interaction, not dramatic occasions for social performance; and they need to be made to feel that it is all right to be alone, that they do not have to be highly social to be adequate. If, in spite of the teacher's efforts to help, isolation continues over a period of time, then it would be wise to seek professional help from a psychologist, psychiatrist, or other trained person.

Sociometric Relationships Exist Between Adults and Children

Through sociometry, we have learned that preferences exist between adults and childen. If children in the nursery school are asked which of the teachers they like best, the results are similar to those we have already described. No teacher is preferred by every child, but all teachers are preferred by some children. This should be comforting to nursery and elementary school workers! If teachers were asked which children they liked best, and they were to answer honestly, preferences again would be revealed. The fact of preferences may explain why a particular teacher can deal with a particular child whom no other teacher can reach, or a particular child accepts the direction of one teacher while rejecting it from all others. It may be—and it is believed to be so in therapeutic groups—that this identified preference for a teacher is a strategic factor in the working out of a plan for the child's progress. A child will blossom under the direction of a particular teacher, not because that teacher *does* anything differently from the others, but because she *is* something different as far as that particular child is concerned. It is completely unrealistic to say that children should not have preferences for teachers, or teachers for children. Preferences are a part of human nature, and whether they be of adult for child, child for adult, or child for child, they are one of its most positive assets.

Sociometric studies have enabled us to learn a great deal about social relationships and social interaction, and they continue to do so. They provide a means of investigating the dependency-trust philosophy described by Professor Millichamp in her article in this BULLETIN, especially as it applies to the child and his contemporaries. In a peer group, de-

pendency-trust becomes a mutual matter, each child both giving and receiving it. Because of the mutuality and intermeshing involved at this early stage, we speak of *dependency-trust as evolving into the interdependence* which we consider to be the essence of mature social living.

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BOOK REVIEWS

Mental Health in Public Affairs, A Report of the Fifth Inter-
national Congress on Mental Health, 1954, edited by WILLIAM
LINE and MARGERY R. KING. University of Toronto Press, 1956.
Pp.254, $5.00.

> "Mental health is a forum, mental health begins with the
> 'man in the street', it interests everybody."
>
> William Line

A world congress is rather like a circus: so many attractive
events are going on at the same time that the participant can
obtain only impressions, and these of merely the most spectacular
and even baubly bits. To read at leisure a well organized report
of the proceedings enables one to discover that profound thought
is being given to the matter of mental health by persons from all
over the world.

This book is a reflection, an expression, of what the world
is thinking about mental health; and the world is thinking. No
panaceas or "wonder" drugs for the world's ills are offered;
rather, mental health is presented as everyman's concern --
psychiatrist, teacher, parent, nurse, doctor, lawyer, merchant,
chief -- and emphasis is placed on the fact that while mental ill-
ness may be a matter for the specialized clinician, mental health
belongs to the realm of public health, and its rightful place is
amid public affairs. This book, therefore, is one that should be
read by everyone who is seriously concerned with man's psycho-
logical welfare.

The plenary addresses are thought-provoking. They should be
read as essays, and savoured slowly. Their content is both stimu-
lating and provocative, their construction usually sturdy and some-
times brilliant.

The reports of round tables, technical sessions and research
symposia are comprehensive, and sufficiently clear to give the
reader an idea of the main issues discussed. It is unfortunate
that they do not suggest the many sparks that flew when serious
people tried to reconcile apparently opposing ideas, but perhaps
this is inevitable in the converting of life events to the dignity
of publication.

Some readers may feel, "But with all that effort, they came
to no conclusions". They will be wrong. The congress itself is a
demonstration of what is meant by mental health in public affairs.
It is proof that many people of diverse backgrounds and training,
and with a variety of sincere and intense purposes can meet together
and vigorously discuss matters of common concern; this in itself is
an indication that some degree of mental health already exists in
the world.

M. L. Northway

Scribbling, Drawing, Painting, by WOLFGANG GROZINGER. Faber
and Faber Limited, London, 1955. Pp. 142, $3.25.

MR. GROZINGER's attitude to the study of child art is, by his
own admission, not an aesthetic one. He enters it from the
points of view of anthropology and psychology, and builds up
his theories from these two main approaches. In his general
discussion of children's art, he says, "...the aim of the
child's apparently artistic development is not art, but reality."
        Mr. Grozinger emphasizes the importance of the whole body
as a means of developing an awareness of the meaning and nature
of reality. Thus he discusses the sense of touch, the eye-body
relationships, the "rotary sense of space", breathing, even
heartbeats, as significant in a child's gradual grasp of reality
through drawing and painting. In this respect, his treatment
of scribbling is detailed and unusual. He says, "The scrib-
bling phase is the step-child of educational theory. In a
general endeavor to get to school subjects as rapidly as pos-
sible, there has been a tendency to overlook this important and -
decisive phase, in which the child creates the inner space where
it then receives and assimilates the world." Mr. Grozinger feels
that without full development of this "inner space", the reality
that we grasp will be stunted and incomplete. However, if its
growth is encouraged and nurtured, the vision of both child and
adult will be enlarged and enriched.
        SCRIBBLING, DRAWING, PAINTING is generously illustrated
with children's drawings, and contains much interesting infor-
mation about teaching techniques, phases of development in chil-
dren's drawing, and universal pattern forms. The average parent
may find this book rather technical and over-interpretive at
times, but will still gain much of value from it. For the art
teacher, it should be required reading. As Mr. Grozinger points
out, "without knowledge, sympathy remains blind."

                                        Budge Wilson

Oxford

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